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Don't let bad weather keep you away from

# YOUR UNION MEETING



ARE YOU meticulous about fulfilling your obligations as a trade unionist? To be a good trade unionist one must be a good citizen first—and a good citizen does not neglect his obligations. Now is the time to resolve that you will do your share to strengthen your union. Take a genuine interest in its affairs. Study its problems. Bring new members into the fold. And attend meetings regularly. It is impossible to overemphasize the importance of consistent attendance at your union's meetings. It's at the meetings that you get your

chance to take part in shaping the policies of your union. Almost all of us want our unions to be virile and thoroughly democratic. It's up to us—and no one else—to make sure that our unions always have those qualities. And that means that we have an inescapable duty to turn out for meetings even when the weather is nasty. Your union will be the kind of union you want it to be—if you always do your part. So attend your union meetings—be the weather foul or fair.

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# American FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

JANUARY, 1957

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GEORGE MEANY, Editor

Vol. 64, No. 1

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#### Law Is Not Fair

In 1947 the Taft-Hartley Act was put over. It was a vindictive law in itself, but in Section 14-b it provided that if the states were to pass legislation concerning union security more restrictive than Taft-Hartley, then the state laws were to have priority. Where the Taft-Hartley Act was tougher than state laws, Taft-Hartley was to prevail.

The Taft-Hartley Act outlawed the closed shop, but it provided that labor could legally ask for the union shop if it had previously won a referendum on this subject. Later, after labor had almost universally won these elections, the law was quietly modified so that the union shop could be put into effect by collective bargaining, without any prior referendum. But the so-called "right to work" laws outlaw the union shop as well as the closed shop.

In the "right to work" states, workmen are denied security against dilution or whittling away of a union's strength and bargaining rights. Employers in these states war on unions behind the shelter of these laws. They keep wages down and thus are one force causing industry and employment opportunities to migrate to areas where working conditions are the poorest.

This is unhealthy competition which tends to drag down standards of work, pay and security. It is the type of competition we thought we were eliminating when we passed the Wagner Act in 1935.

What would employers say if we had an act in which, if Taft-Hartley was more lenient to unions than state laws, Taft-Hartley would prevail, but where the state laws were more lenient than Taft-Hartley, then the state laws would prevail?

Any law like that would be unfair, and I believe the present law is unfair.

Senator Douglas of Illinois.



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# Atomic Haza for Worker

#### By ANDREW J. BIEMILLER

Mr. Biemiller is an AFL-CIO legislative representative and is chairman of the AFL-CIO's Staff Committee on Atomic Energy. A trade unionist for many years, he is a former Congressman from Wisconsin.

T HAS been fashionable, in referring to atomic development, to say that atomic industry is a growing industry, that it will bulk large in the economy's future. This is indeed true, but it is no longer necessary to look to the future alone. It is time now to recognize that atomic industry-the civilian use of atomic materials-is at least a small giant already and is a significant factor in today's

And from the standpoint of all concerned with safety and workmen's compensation, this infant giant presents problems to be met now and not merely questions to be reckoned with in the indefinite future.

For some years there have been substantial atomic energy operations for military purposes and, to some extent, for peaceful development, under government auspices. These activities at major installations generally have been accompanied by utmost concern for the safety of employes. Top-flight specialists have been employed and urged to develop and apply all necessary safety precautions. Protective devices have been given top priority. Cost has not been a compelling limiting factor.

In short, with little incentive to skimp on protection for financial reasons, the result has been what appears to be a good safety record.

This very fact of a laudable record to date harbors danger. It may lull



ANDREW J. BIEMILLER

many into an unwarranted sense of security.

As private civilian uses widen, potentially dangerous radioactive materials and equipment may be supervised by persons less familiar with the hazards. They may be neither as alert to the hazards nor as competent to control them as the safety officials in the major government-contract installations. Equally dangerous, there may be less inclination to be super-cautious in the interest of workmen if significant expenditures are required for maximum protection.

In referring to the broadening civil-

ian use of the atom, most of us think of power and of the various reactors now being constructed or planned to generate electric power. This has been the most dramatic and most publicized area of growth. The power plants do present the most serious safety questions and do involve relatively large concentrations of workers, but atomic uses already range far beyond electric power generation. It is these less publicized areas that must also be borne in mind in citing the widened use of the atom.

In the non-industrial fields we know that atomic radiation is being applied increasingly for varied medical diagnostic and therapeutic purposes. It is being used as a research aid in ever more wide-ranging investigations of biological and chemical processes. And hosts of experiments are under way in agricultural and food applications-in plant breeding experiments, in more efficient fertilizer use, in pest control, in food preservation. Almost each day's newspaper reports on a new step forward or on a new research reactor at some university.

The records of the Atomic Energy Commission permit some quantitative measure of this non-industrial growth. At the end of 1951, less than 500 institutions-hospitals and other medical organizations, universities, government laboratories and various foundations-were authorized by the

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AEC to procure and use radioactive isotopes. A little more than four years later, by mid-1956, the number had almost quadrupled to more than 1,900 non-industrial users.

In the industrial sphere the expansion has been even more remarkable. Company after company has come to apply the wonders of radioactivity to hundreds of measurement, inspection and control purposes and to the changing of characteristics of various materials. At the end of 1951, only 134 industrial firms in the country were using isotopes of sufficient radioactivity to require authorization (or licensing) from the AEC. By May of last year more than 1,360 industrial plants were using radio-isotopes.

In addition, most plants today use such isotopes far more extensively than earlier. Many which several years ago experimentally put but one type of isotope to use have advanced not merely to more intensive use of that isotope but often to the use of half a dozen or more for a much wider range of applications.

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The industrial users of radioactive materials are not confined to limited industrial areas. All areas of the country are joining in this development. Radio-isotopes in quantities large enough to require licensing are now used by firms in forty-four states, the District of Columbia and Hawaii. In each of twenty-seven of these states there are now more than ten users. And in each of five states there are already 100 or more industrial users of radioactive isotopes.

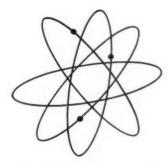
Different radio-isotopes emit different amounts of radiation. Some raise little threat of injury. But most radio-isotopes now in common use by industry are classified by the National Bureau of Standards as moderately or very dangerous and are used in amounts which require special safeguards.

AM not citing this background to be an alarmist but to gain recognition that atomic energy is already current and not merely a future occupational hazard. It is only through such recognition that safety awareness can be developed to keep the hazards in check and to adapt the compensation laws to meet the special difficulties posed by the peculiar nature of radiation hazards and injury.

Such awareness has developed rapidly in the trade union movement. A

number of national unions representing sizable groups of workers in atomic activities have now assigned full-time specialists to this area. They are bending their efforts to development of broader understanding among their membership of the need for continuing caution in working with radioactivity. The Boilermakers, the Plumbers and Pipefitters, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, the Machinists, the Auto Workers, the Electrical Workers, to name but a few, have developed special informational and other programs.

The first AFL-CIO convention, a little more than one year ago, adopted a special resolution on atomic energy. Among other items, it directed particular attention to the need for development of effective health and safety standards to meet the special hazards presented in work with radioactive materials and urged provisions for



fair compensation for workmen suffering radiation injury. In 1956 the AFL-CIO Economic Policy Committee established special policy and staff subcommittees on atomic energy, with the key responsibility being the furthering of these radiation safety and compensation objectives. In response to the concern of many unions and their desire for guidance and balanced evaluation of these problems, the AFL-CIO is now planning a special conference on radiation hazards. The key officers and safety leaders of all interested trade unions will be invited to attend. Among the areas certain to be explored are the special safety needs posed by the peculiar nature of radiation and the revisions of workmen's compensation legislation which might be required for meeting radiation problems.

Labor has a number of reasons for referring to the "peculiar nature" of radiation hazards. Radiation is invisible and cannot be detected by any of man's senses. A man may be get-

ting a severe dose of radiation and suffering serious injury without being at all aware of it at the time. Because the hazard cannot be seen or felt, the risk cannot be avoided merely by reasonable care by the workers, as in the case of most industrial hazards.

This explains the need for special radiation detection devices to provide regular and thorough checks of the amount of radiation present and makes clear the particular importance of shielding and special protective equipment as safeguards.

R ADIATION hazards are widely varied. Different types of radiation have different penetrating powers and effects. Materials contaminated by radiation present still other problems. External radiation poses difficulties quite different from the threat of internal absorption of radioactive materials. Protective measures must be designed separately for each particular hazard situation.

Radiation has a cumulative effect. The amount absorbed at any one time may not in itself be dangerous but may prove seriously damaging in combination with earlier exposure, even though separate exposures may be years apart. It is the total accumulated over the years that counts. There are apparently no recoveries or fresh starts. Any radiation absorbed by a worker reduces permanently the dosage to which he may be exposed in the future. This underlines the importance of maintaining permanent exposure records for each affected worker.

How much radiation may be absorbed without appreciable injury is not known for sure. On the basis of certain assumptions, scientific groups have recommended "maximum permissible exposures," but they are quick to caution that there is only one truly safe rule—the less radiation the better. There are other complications on exposure limits. Some people are apparently more sensitive than others. Different parts of the body have different sensitivity. A large dose which hits the less sensitive parts may not be very dangerous in comparison to a smaller dose to the entire body or particularly sensitive organs.

Radiation injury may not be immediately evident. The reaction may be long delayed, with injury not apparent (Continued on Page 30)

# This Is How We Licked 198

The 'right to work' forces tried to sell their poison in Washington State.

Labor and its friends told the people the facts about this proposal,

and the people—armed with the truth—voted to reject it.

#### By WILLIAM T. HOLLOMAN

"IF IT COMES, we'll beat it—but good!" The speaker was a waitress, and she had interrupted her serving of coffee to a table of four men to make her statement. She smiled at their startled expressions, then by way of explanation added:

"Couldn't help but overhear your remarks about a 'right to work' law coming to the State of Washington. You must be strangers to think anybody in this state would sit on their hands and let a law like that be put over. We'd fight it. And we'd win."

This determined attitude of a Seattle waitress, expressed early in 1955 when rumors ran rampant of making Washington a "right to work" state, was a forerunner of the way organized labor and the general public put up a strong front when a "right to work" proposal finally reached the ballot on November 6. The measure, known as Initiative 198, went down to decisive defeat by a 3 to 1 vote.

But between the time of the filing of the initiative and the November 6 election, organized labor in Washington was faced with its greatest challenge. How it met this challenge, and the methods and procedures used, may well be the blueprint that not only will crush other "right to work" attempts, but will lead to the repeal of existing restrictive labor measures in other states.

First indication of a "right to work" proposal being attempted in Washington came early in 1955 when an organization known as "Job Research" began mailing a bulletin to businessmen and some selected leading citizens. "Job Research" listed its director as a Dave Pollock, an advertising agency executive whose agency specialized in industrial accounts.

"Washington is favorable to rightto-work legislation," the bulletin proclaimed, and then quoted percentage figures from a survey which purported that a strong segment of the population would vote for such a measure should it be placed upon the ballot.

A year ago this month the quiet campaign which "Job Research" had been waging since early 1955 materialized in the filing of Initiative 198 with the Secretary of State. It was filed by the "Washington Right to Work Committee," which was regarded as a subcommittee of "Job Research." Pollock was the committee's spokesman, and he confidently predicted that "in excess of 300,000 signatures" would be secured on the initiative petitions.

Washington law requires at least 50,000 valid signatures to place an initiative on the ballot, with the deadline for filing of the signatures four months prior to the November 6 general election—or July 6.

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An immediate argument developed over the title of the initiative. Its sponsors wanted to term it "An Act Guaranteeing Freedom of Employment," while the state's Attorney General—after consultation with labor representatives—boldly labeled it as what it was: "An Act Restricting Employer-Employe Agreements."

When sponsors of the measure objected, the Attorney General pointed out that the true purpose of the proposed law was to prevent any type of union security agreement from being included in contracts, even though both parties to the contract might wish such a clause. A court battle followed, with the final title emerging as "An Act Affecting Employer-Employe Agreements."

The campaign for signatures, like the entire program, took an odd twist. Instead of following the usual practice of sending solicitors with petitions out for signatures, it was rumored that sponsors of 198 were planning on mailing a petition to each home in the state.

And at this point the Right to Work Committee made what later was



BILL HOLLOMAN is the editor of Aero Mechanic, a lively newspaper published in Seattle by District 751 of the International Association of Machinists. District 751 represents 25,000 Boeing employes in Washington State. He served as the publicity director for the United Labor Advisory Committee Against Initiative 198, and in this article be tells the story of that epic fight. A charter member of Seattle-Tacoma chapter of the American Newspaper Guild, Mr. Holloman is a former Seattle newspaperman and former Northwest correspondent for Newsweek. He knows advertising and, for fifteen years, has been a free-lance writer.



President E. M. Weston of State Labor Federation was chairman of united labor group in big battle. Citizens, led by Howard Sylvester, also did a splendid anti-198 job.

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regarded as a blunder—that is, a blunder for the committee but a help for the forces opposing 198. More than 800,000 copies of the petition were printed outside the state, which caused a flood of comments such as:

"If this Right to Work Committee is so interested in building local payrolls as it says, why does it send the biggest printing order of the year to out-of-state printing plants?"

When the petitions were mailed, it took a fleet of trucks to lug the peti-

tions to the post office. With each petition was a return envelope, postage guaranteed, and the "wreck" advocates requested that the petition be signed and immediately returned.

Labor unions had been following the efforts of the Right to Work Committee closely. The day the petitions flooded the mails, a large advertisement appeared in all daily newspapers of the state that loudly announced "Danger!" and exposed evils of 198. The advertisement cautioned the public not to sign the petitions. This advertisement was placed by the Washington State Machinists Council.

A second ad, labeled "BEWARE OF THE MONSTER IN YOUR MAILBOX," called direct attention to the mailed petitions and further emphasized the "don't sign" warning. This ad was placed by a newly organized group of businessmen, professional people and labor union members who formed the "Citizens Committee for the Preservation of Payrolls," of which Republican attorney Howard Sylvester was chairman.

As the signature campaign progressed, unions of Washington realized that a concerted effort would be needed to battle the well-financed Right to Work Committee. Until this point various unions and union organizations were conducting the fight against 198 on many fronts. Unity was obtained with the formation of the United Labor Advisory Committee Against 198, which brought together AFL and CIO unions on a

statewide basis. Although the AFL and the CIO are not yet merged in Washington, the two state organizations worked closely together, with E. M. Weston, president of the Washington Federation of Labor, serving as chairman of the United Labor Advisory Committee Against 198, and Harold Slater, secretary-treasurer of the Washington CIO Council, acting as its secretary-treasurer.

Machinists, Longshoremen, Carpenters, the Railroad Brotherhoods, the Woodworkers . . . nearly every phase of organized labor in the state, affiliates of either the AFL or the CIO and also unaffiliated unions, banded together to combine their efforts on a statewide basis and through local branches of the main committee.

The United Labor Advisory Committee and the Citizens Committee for the Preservation of Payrolls conducted the campaign against 198 on a statewide basis, placing advertisements, radio and TV material and supplying posters and literature. In local areas, subcommittees coordinated the effort, especially in the providing of speakers who could appear before meetings to discuss the objectionable features of the proposed union-weakening initiative.

Sponsors of 198, after mailing out more than 800,000 copies of their petition, urged the people of the state to mail the signed petitions back, using the return postage envelope which had been included in the original





Labor and its friends made effective use of posters, placards, circulars and other publicity media to inform the voters that 198 would hurt all.



To sell unregistered citizens on the importance of qualifying to vote against 198 on Election Day, telephones were worked overtime.

mailing of the petitions. The petitions started to return—but many of the envelopes contained things other than petitions. One ingenious person filled his envelope with sand and mailed it back, causing 198's sponsors to pay return postage on nearly a pound of sand. Others were equally ingenious.

A series of advertisements was run in daily newspapers and community and weekly newspapers of the state, emphasizing the warning: "Don't sign Initiative 198 petitions." The United Labor Advisory Committee used the services of Farwest Advertising Agency and Advertising Counselors to assist in the preparation of advertising,

while the Citizens Committee for the Preservation of Payrolls had the help of the How. J. Ryan Agency.

Basic point of the anti-198 advertising was that the proposal was harmful to everyone in the state, not just to union members. Personal messages from businessmen, professional men, housewives and public officials were used in the advertising. These messages, each accompanied by a photograph, were labeled, "I Won't Sign Initiative 198 Because . . .", and then listed the various reasons why the petitions shouldn't be signed.

BUMPER strips by the thousands were printed and, as the campaign progressed, more than 200,000 bumper strips were distributed. These carried such slogans as: "Don't Wreck Your State—Don't Sign 198," and "Reject 198," and finally, "Vote Against 198."

Posters on wooden stakes blossomed out on highways and lawns, and placards of "Don't Sign 198" appeared in the windows of business firms and on the sides of buses and trucks. Lapel buttons and matches were made available, all furthering the warning "Don't Sign 198." As the weeks went by, the campaign to curb the securing of signatures developed into one of the best organized and most intensified programs ever witnessed in Washington State.

To acquaint speakers fully with the material on Initiative 198, the Teamsters and the Washington Machinists Council each prepared a booklet listing the various arguments pro and con, and giving a wealth of back-

ground material regarding the  $s_0$  called "right to work" laws.

The Seattle Central Labor Council conducted a seminar, bringing together representatives from other cen. tral labor bodies and various unions throughout the state. Techniques of effective public speaking were taught, Outstanding authorities addressed the seminar, each taking various prob. lems that might confront speakers and explaining how those problems could be overcome. Every person attend. ing the seminar received a complete speakers' kit, and returned to his home organization well equipped to discuss the evils of Initiative 198 before any type of meeting.

Establishment of speakers' committees in each area was stressed, with the various committees canvassing their districts in search of speaking engagements—not waiting for invitations to be extended, but requesting the time to discuss the vicious proposal on a factual basis.

Many unions, meanwhile, concentrated upon their public relations, being mindful that they must demonstrate to the general public the tremendous good that unions accomplish. These programs took many forms, such as the participation by unions in numerous civic matters, the mailing of material to members on past achievements, the sponsorship of baseball games on television.

One factor, however, bothered union officials. That was the neglect of many people to be registered voters. A survey was made by several unions, with the results indicating that

Volunteers toured the cities in buses. Making stops at intervals, they displayed anti-198 signs and handed out literature.



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Billboards had a place in the fight. Foes of 198 sought constantly to convey that its adoption would harm all the people.

the heavy percentage of those who were not registered to vote were union members themselves.

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Registration campaigns immediately were undertaken. Unions carefully examined the registration status of their own membership and sent notices to those who needed to register. Some organizations, especially those in Pierce County, set up elaborate filing systems, card-indexing their members according to voting precincts.

Typical of many continuing registration drives was the series conducted in Seattle by District 751 of the Machinists, representing some 25,000 Boeing Airplane Company employes. In an area where registration was low, a committee was formed of civic-minded community leaders, bringing together school officials, businessmen, labor representatives and leaders of both the Republican and Democratic Parties.

Special registration dates were set, with registration officials taking the registration books to convenient locations, such as schools, fire stations, cafeterias adjoining factories with large numbers of employes and other centrally located places.

The public was notified of the drive by newspaper and radio publicity and, most effectively, by having schoolchildren take home to their parents letters describing the need for everyone to be registered and listing the special locations where registration could be completed.

A novel method of informing residents of an area about a registration drive was in the city of Kent, Washington. The local office of the telephone company cooperated with the volunteer registration committee by ringing all of the users on party lines, then informing them of the registration locations.

The hard work paid. The concentrated registration drives, which were conducted throughout the state, resulted in nearly 200,000 new persons being placed upon Washington's voting rolls in 1956.

As the July 6 deadline for the filing of signatures approached, advertisements were placed in newspapers advising persons who might have signed the initiative petitions in a moment of haste that they could withdraw their names. All they had to do was to send a withdrawal request to the Secretary of State.

When July 6 arrived, the sponsors of Initiative 198 filed some 58,000

signatures—far below their earlier boast of 300,000. The measure was certified for the ballot, but union members viewed the defeat of 198 in the general election with confidence, for they had been able to hold down the number of signatures and had been successful in getting a strong campaign of opposition under way.

In the final campaign, those fighting the "wreck" proposal used all advertising media. Ads were placed in the newspapers, and skillfully prepared radio and television announcements and programs were broadcast throughout the state.

The "Don't Sign" slogan was changed to "Vote Against Initiative 198," and placards, billboards and signs dotted the landscape.

General theme of the advertising was that everyone in the state would suffer should the "right to work" measure become law. This approach gained strong public support, and numerous civic and fraternal organizations went on record against 198. The clergy was especially friendly to labor's position, coming out solidly against the "right to work" proposal.

Public reaction against Initiative 198 was so solid that not a single major or- (Continued on Page 29)

# ONE YEAR OF UNITY

On the morning of December 5, 1955, with the bang of a king-sized gavel in a vast New York armory, the merged AFL-CIO was born. Since that most thrilling moment in labor's history, twelve eventful months have gone by. To mark the first anniversary of unity, President George Meany issued the statement which appears below.

HE American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations has marked the first birthday of a unified labor movement in a spirit of confidence and determination. We have made considerable progress in establishing unity as a living fact and an effective working force. As a result, we will be able to forge ahead more rapidly in the year before us.

We achieved merger in the labor movement because our belief in unity overcame the barriers that separated the two main branches of the labor movement. Now we will grow together. There are still problems to be solved, of course. Merger at the top level was only the first step in a long process. Given patience and goodwill, the rest of the job will be completed ahead of our most optimistic hopes.

Today the American labor movement speaks with one voice on Capitol Hill. It is recognized as a major factor in the political as well as the economic life of the nation. Our united action during the recent political campaign resulted in a large measure of victory for liberal, progressive forces in Congress, despite the personal popularity which produced President Eisenhower's landslide victory.

In the field of international affairs we have strengthened the free trade union movement in the struggle for peace with freedom for all men. Our persistent, unrelenting attack on totalitarianism of any kind, and particularly upon the evils of communism, has been given new significance and impetus by the perfidious attack of Soviet Russia upon the defenseless people of Hungary, whose only "crime" was to yearn for freedom.

During our first year we have held true to our principles. We shall remain true to them in the future.

We must continue to fight unrelentingly on the

domestic front for legislation which will make America better and stronger. We must oppose at every step legislation designed to benefit only the privileged few. We cannot, however, be content merely to resist the forces of reaction. We must lead a nationwide drive for the realization of a positive and progressive legislative program, including federal aid to education, better housing, broader application of a higher minimum wage and enactment of thorough-going changes in the Taft-Hartley Act that will make it fair to labor and management alike.

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Now, as always, our first responsibility is to organize the unorganized. This we shall proceed to do with our full energies. Organizers have been assigned already to a number of important campaigns in tobacco, textile and other industries. We expect eventual victory, no matter how bitter the opposition nor how restrictive the legislation imposed upon us.

In he international field the AFL-CIO is determined to support strong, free, democratic unions throughout the world, for they are the bulwark of democracy, the first line of defense against war.

We achieved unity in the labor movement in order to do a more effective job for the men and women we represent. Upon accepting the presidency of the AFL-CIO, I remarked: "We must think in terms of the true meaning of a trade union movement, a movement that has for its sole, definite and single purpose the advancement of the welfare and interest of the great mass of workers who are part of this movement." That will always be our goal.

The AFL-CIO on its first birthday is fully cognizant of the great tasks and opportunities for service which lie ahead. As we enter the second year of unity, we dedicate ourselves to completing a job well begun.

AFL-CIO AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

# MORE PROTECTION FOR YOU

By NELSON H. CRUIKSHANK
Director, Department of Social Security, AFL-CIO

THE 1956 amendments to the Social Security Act were more comprehensive than is generally recognized. They included not only improvements in the insurance phases of the program, but also important advances in the federal-state programs of aid to the needy and for child welfare. New money for important research and training of personnel in social security administration was made available, and the program of federal grants to the states was broadened to include payments for medical care to those in need.

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All these changes represent important improvements in which wage-earners and other working people have a vital interest. Some people now working have members of their families whose situation will be improved immediately because of these changes. Moreover, none of us knows that he, himself, may not at some time be in need of the kind of aid and service improved or started under the provisions of these amendments.

This article will outline the improved protection provided to your earned income, that is, wages or salary, or to your income as a farmer or other self-employed person. This is the social insurance part of our whole social security program. It is insurance against loss of income due to old age, death of the family breadwinner and now—for the first time—permanent and total disability.

For the sake of convenience, the changes in this insurance system and its benefits will be summarized in terms of the groups of individuals who will benefit directly. Any such review, however, reminds us how interdependent all of these groups of people are in our country.

You may never be disabled yourself, but you will benefit if another member of your family, or even one of your fellow workers, is stricken and is protected by the new disability program. And even if misfortune of



NELSON H. CRUIKSHANK

this kind never directly affects anyone near you, you will benefit from the fact that all during your working life protection against the possibility of your being disabled after age 50 will be yours.

We shall describe some of the changes as new provisions for women. But men will benefit from these changes too. For example, any man at age 65 who wishes to retire and is eligible for retirement benefits, and whose wife is no more than three years younger than he, can now add a wife's benefit to his family retirement income without waiting for his wife also to reach age 65.

The major changes in income insurance protection can be listed as they affect the following groups of people: Women, the Disabled, Farm People and Those Newly Covered.

#### **Protection for Women**

First, here is how the amendments affect the protection for women in four different types of circumstances:

Working Women. If you have worked on a job covered by social security, regardless of whether you are single or married, you may now be eligible for monthly social security payments when you reach age 62 instead of having to wait until you reach 65. Once you make the decision, however, to take the payments before you reach 65, the amount of your monthly benefit will be reduced and you will continue to draw only the reduced amount.

The amount of reduction is based on a calculation of the total amount that on the average would have been paid to a woman beginning to draw benefits at age 65. This total amount is spread over the greater number of years resulting from the earlier retirement age and is therefore somewhat less in terms of each monthly benefit. Accordingly, the amount of the reduction depends on the number of months prior to age 65 that you actually begin drawing benefits.

If you start drawing them immediately after your sixty-second birthday, the amount of each monthly benefit will be 80 per cent of what you would get if you were 65. If you wait until your sixty-third birthday, the amount will be 86% per cent of what you would receive if you were 65. And if you wait until your sixty-fourth birthday, the amount will be 93% per cent. Table I gives some examples of the benefit amounts for retired women workers at different ages.

Remember, if you make the choice to take the reduced benefits before you reach age 65, you will be eligible only for the reduced amount even after you become 65. However, if, during any time you have retired, and before you are 65, you go back to work and earn enough money to make you ineligible for your social security benefits for as long as three months, then your earnings will count toward an increased benefit each month after you are 65.

If you have dependents who are eligible also for monthly benefits, such as children or a dependent husband or, in case of your death, a widower or a dependent parent, their benefits will not be reduced as a result of your having elected to accept the lower benefits for earlier retirement.

Wives of Retired Workers. If you are the wife of a man aged 65 or over who has been working on a job covered by social security long enough to entitle him to old-age insurance benefits, you may also be entitled to a wife's benefit at any time after you reach age 62, instead of having to wait until you are 65. If you make this selection, however, the amount of each monthly benefit will be reduced, and you will continue to draw the reduced amount even after you become 65.

As in the case of the working woman who retires before age 65, the amount of the reduction depends on the number of months before you reach 65 that you start getting benefits. The amount of the reduction, however, is not the same as the amount for the working woman who retires on the basis of her own earned wage credits.

If you start to draw the wife's benefits right after your sixty-second birthday, for example, the amount of each month's benefits will be only 75 per cent of what it would have been had you waited until you were 65. If you wait until your sixty-third birthday, the amount will be 83½ per cent of what you would receive if you were 65, and if you wait until you are 64, the amount will be 91% per cent.

Table II gives some examples of retirement benefits for couples where the man is 65 years of age or over and the wife's benefit starts at age 62, 63 or 64. Remember, these are the benefits for both man and wife under the conditions listed.

The same provision for recomputing the benefits at age 65 described for working women, where they lose as much as three months' benefits because they have worked after they retire, applies in the case of the wife's benefit where benefits are lost because she or her husband worked.

Widows and Dependent Mothers. There are two circumstances under which women are eligible for their benefits at age 62 without any reduction in amount.

First, widows of covered workers in all circumstances are eligible for the full widow's benefit at age 62. If, after retirement, your husband dies, you are eligible for the full amount of the widow's benefit even



Women must make decision whether to draw benefits earlier or wait until 65.

if while your husband was living you made the decision to accept the reduced wife's benefit before reaching age 65.

Secondly, if you are the mother of a worker who dies leaving no widow, widower or child eligible for monthly social security benefits and you were receiving at least half your support from this worker, you will become entitled to unreduced benefits at age 62. Table III gives some examples of widows' and mothers' benefits.

Women With Dependent Children. If you have a child in your care who is entitled to benefits based on your husband's earnings, you may be entitled to full monthly benefits regardless of your age.

Before the 1956 amendments, bene-

fits for both the child and the mother were cut off when the child reached 18. Now it is possible for the mother and the child, if he has been disabled since before he reached 18, to receive payments beginning January, 1957, regardless of the mother's age.

Should you accept the reduced benefits at 62 or wait until you are 65? It is not possible to give any general advice as to whether women should take advantage of any of these provisions under which they may receive earlier benefits, especially in cases where the amount of the benefits is reduced. Each woman must make this decision in the light of her own individual circumstances.

In some cases it will be to your advantage to wait until 65 and draw the full amount. In other cases it will be to your advantage to claim your reduced benefits at an earlier age. As a matter of fact, in many cases you will not actually be able to tell if it will be to your advantage in terms of the total amount of benefits you will draw over a period of years.

The decision, however, should not be based primarily on this consideration but rather on your immediate circumstances. It will be helpful to discuss in detail the terms of your eligibility and the amount of your monthly benefit with the people in your local Social Security Administration office. Other members of your family, community family counseling agencies or the counseling services of your union, church or synagogue can be helpful in coming to a decision.

## TABLE I

**Examples of Monthly Benefits to Retired Women Workers** 

		Amount of Mo	onthly Benefit	
Average Monthly Earnings*	If Claimed at 62nd Birthday	If Claimed at 63rd Birthday	If Claimed at 64th Birthday	If Claimed at 65th Birthday or Later
\$45	\$24.00	\$26.00	\$28.00	\$30.00
100	44.00	47.70	51.40	55.00
150	54.80	59.40	64.00	68.50
200	62.80	63.10	73.30	78.50
250	70.80	76.70	82.60	88.50
300	78.80	85.40	92.00	98.50
350	86.80	94.10	101.30	108.50

<sup>\*</sup> After 1950 and dropping out of average-earnings computation any years (up to five) of low (or no) earnings.

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### TABLE II

Examples of Retirement Benefits for Couple

Man 65 or Over—Wife's Benefit Starting at Age \_\_\_\_

Husband's Average Monthly Earnings After 1950*	62	63	64	65
\$50	\$41.30	\$42.50	\$43.80	\$45.00
150	94.30	97.10	100.00	102.80
250	121.80	125.50	129.20	132.80
350	149.30	153.80	158.30	162.30

#### **Benefits for Disabled**

In addition to these benefits for disabled children and their survivor parents, beginning next July you will be eligible for disability insurance payments if you are at least 50 years of age, are so severely disabled that you are unable to do any substantial work and have worked long enough on a job covered by social security.

It is admitted that this represents pretty much minimum protection. Not only do you have to meet rigid requirements as to age and eligibility, but you draw only the benefit based on your own work record with no additional benefits for your dependents. Moreover, the amount of your disability insurance payments will be reduced by the amount of any other federal benefits you receive based on your disability and by the amount of any state or federal workmen's compensation benefits you receive.

Even with these qualifications, the disability insurance program represents an important gain since it adds a whole new type of protection which can be improved in future years. The program is set up under a special fund and is financed by the increased social security tax to be paid beginning January, 1957.

Under this program, in addition to the monthly cash benefit, there is in a very real sense a service benefit available in that, whether or not your disability is of a nature to make you eligible for the cash benefits, you will be referred to the vocational rehabilitation agency in your state, and this agency will do everything possible to provide you with rehabilitation services that will help you to get back on a regular job.

If it is possible to be rehabilitated and have one's earning capacity re-

stored, it is much better than to draw a disability benefit payment. Disability benefits will be withheld from any person who refuses without good cause to accept rehabilitation services.

Table IV gives examples of disability benefits at various average wages.

There is one benefit in the Social Security Act for disabled people which has now been in effect for two years and which is available without waiting to reach age 50. This is what is called the disability "freeze." Under this provision, if you are disabled at any time, you can have your benefit rights frozen as of the date you are found to be disabled, so that when you reach the age where you will be eligible for monthly benefit payments, your average earnings—on which the amount of benefit is based-will not be reduced by the years in which you were unable to work.

#### Farmers and Farm Workers

The 1956 amendments bring social security protection to more farm families and (Continued on Page 28)

#### Consult Your Local Social Security Office

THERE ARE MANY detailed provisions which it is not possible to describe in a short summary. Whenever you think you may be eligible for benefits, you should discuss it with the office of the Social Security Administration located in your area or with the members of the Social Security Committee of your local union or your union counseling service. If you don't find the address of the local office of the Social Security Administration listed in your telephone book under "Social Security," look for it in the section marked "United States Government," where you will often find it listed as an agency under "Health, Education and Welfare, Department of."

This agency has issued a series of leaflets which give more details concerning the 1956 amendments. These are:

"A Brief Report on the 1956 Amendments to the Social Security Law." (OASI-1956-1)

"Benefits for Women Under the 1956 Amendments to the Social Security Law." (OASI-1956-2)

"The Rights of Servicemen and Veterans Under the Social Security Law as Amended in 1956." (OASI-1956-3)

"The Rights of Disabled People Under the Social Security Law as Amended in 1956." (OASI-1956-4)

"The Rights of Lawyers, Dentists, Osteopaths, Veterinarians, Chiropractors, Naturopaths and Optometrists Under the Social Security Law as Amended in 1956." (OASI-1956-5)

"The Rights of Farm People Under the 1956 Amendments to the Social Security Law." (OASI-1956-6)

You may obtain a free copy of any of these leaflets at your local office of the Social Security Administration. Quantities may be purchased by unions or other interested groups from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at \$2.50 per 100 copies, except the first one listed, which sells for \$2.75 per 100.

Every large union should have a supply of these leaflets. City central bodies should keep a supply to serve the smaller unions.—N.H.C.

# Land of the Future

## By GEORGE MEANY

SOUTH AMERICA is definitely on the move. It hopes to become the land of the future. Its free trade union leaders are determined to build for that future on the solid foundation of democratic freedom and higher living standards for the people.

That is the strongest impression carried away by an AFL-CIO delegation from a 15,000-mile good-will tour of five South American republics.

The delegation—composed of Vice-Presidents David Dubinsky and O. A. Knight, AFL-CIO Latin American Representative Serafino Romualdi and myself—undertook the trip at the invitation of Vice-President Joao Goulart of Brazil, supplemented by similar invitations from the free labor movements of that country, Uruguay, Argentina, Peru and Panama.

We found the tide of progress running strong in all those nations. It can be seen, physically, in a great building boom. In every city we visited, impressive modern structures—including factories, office buildings, hotels, hospitals, apartments and low-cost housing developments—are sprouting up all over the place. The progressive

Argentina's Municipal Workers Union welcomed the AFL-CIO delegation at a special meeting in Buenos Aires. In the picture at the left, the speaker is the union's leader, Francisco Perez Leiros. Seen in this photo are George Meany, David Dubinsky and O. A. Knight. In the photo at right, Mr. Meany responds for the AFL-CIO.





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JANUA



In Rio de Janeiro the AFL-CIO delegation was received warmly by Juscelino Kubitschek, Brazil's President. The Chief Executive is seated on the sofa beside President Meany. Ellis O. Briggs, the U.S. Ambassador to Brazil, is third from the right in this photo.



Brazilian Vice-President Joao Goulart greeted an old friend. Last May he visited new AFL-CIO Building in Washington and was luncheon guest of honor. Seen at left is David Dubinsky.



At headquarters of the Brazilian Industrial Workers Confederation. At left is Deocleciano Cavalcanti, the president of the Confederation.

tide manifests itself, psychologically, in a new wave of popular demand for more democracy. The people are discarding the outworn concepts of fascism and communism and are clearly anxious to build a free and secure way of life with the accent on peace, stability and improved living standards.

Our mission in South America was strictly good will. To our pleasant surprise, we received far more than we could offer. Everywhere we went we were welcomed with open arms. Cheering crowds waited for us at every airport, even when we arrived as late as 4 A.M. Workers and trade union leaders greeted us at meetings with heart-warming enthusiasm. The heads of state and Cabinet ministers in each country received us as friends and fellow-workers for freedom and economic progress.

We did not go to South America to sell anything-not even ideas. As it turned out, any such

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The delegation visited Uruguay and found no shocking extremes in that country. These are airport scenes.

effort would have been superfluous. In our discussions with the Presidents of the five republics, we did mention the core of our trade union economic philosophy here in the U.S.—that the man who makes an automobile should earn enough to be able to buy one, that the man who builds a modern, up-to-date house should be able to live in one.

"That is exactly what we are striving for," each of these chief executives responded.

When the conversations got around to the role of free trade unions in a democracy, the clear-cut expressions of the Presidents of Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, Peru and Panama were equally

encouraging. The gist of what they told us was:

"Freedom is indivisible. Free government and free labor are inseparable. One cannot exist without the other. We fully recognize that a strong and free trade union movement is the strongest bulwark of free and democratic government."

If there is one safe conclusion that can be drawn from our trip, it is this—that the people we saw and talked to in South America are Americans just as much as we are. Despite differences in climate, customs and language, they are animated by the same spirit of getting ahead. Workers, trade union leaders and government officials

Serafino Romualdi met with leaders of Commercial Employes Union in Buenos Aires.



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JANUA



President Manuel Prado of Peru received the AFL-CIO delegation in the Palace of Government at Lima. President Prado is at the extreme right.

look to us in the United States of North America for leadership and inspiration. They want to be more like us—especially in the ability to provide high economic conditions. They want to cast their lot with ours—in defense of freedom and in opposition to totalitarianism.

Perhaps this feeling of belonging, of partnership with the U.S. in world affairs, was best expressed at a dinner in Rio de Janeiro by Osvaldo Aranha, elder statesman of Brazil, when he said: "We are in the same airplane. We fly together or we crash together."

Of course, this spirit may not be universal in South America. There are still a few countries in that continent which are under the despotic rule of dictators. There are others where the Communists temporarily hold a controlling hand in trade union affairs.

But in the five countries we visited, our nation has good friends and good neighbors.



Serafino Romualdi (left) chats with Peru's Labor Minister, Dr. Aparicio, during a visit by the AFL-CIO group.



Peru's Minister of Labor gave a reception in the delegation's honor. At the right is Pedro Beltran, director of La Prensa, Lima newspaper.

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General Secretary Arturo Sabroso of the Peruvian Confederation of Labor welcomed the visitors at ceremonies in Lima's Colon Theater on November 23.

It is of the utmost importance, in our opinion, that this spirit of friendship and solidarity be maintained and developed. Toward this end, the delegation is now preparing a report to the AFL-CIO Executive Council, recommending specific action on the part of our government and on the part of the free trade union movement.

While it would be premature to discuss these recommendations here, the areas in which our friends and neighbors in South America need help and encouragement require some explanation and elaboration.

For instance, in Brazil the urge for industrial and economic progress is being retarded by illiteracy, by lack of transportation and by a low wage structure. As a result, the rich resources of the land remain largely undeveloped and purchasing power too weak to spark a dynamic economy.

Three main confederations—the Industrial Workers, the Commercial Workers and the Land Transport Workers—comprise the free labor movement of Brazil. Their leadership is alert and progressive, but the unions still lack self-reliance because of a weak dues-collection system. The unions also need more know-how in collective bargaining. It is significant that the trade unionists who have visited this country under the Point Four program stress the need for research and workers' education departments in the unions.

Most workers in Brazil still suffer from substandard wages and living conditions. One difficulty in raising standards is the fact that agricultural labor receives an annual cash wage of as low as \$15, over and above food and shelter.

In Uruguay, the delegation's next stop, conditions were startlingly different. Here we found virtually no illiteracy, no slums, no shocking extremes between great poverty and great wealth. The Uruguayan Federation of Labor is strongly entrenched, even though some unions are still unaffiliated. Liberal social legislation prevails in this tiny republic. President Alberto Zubiria told us social security benefits in Uruguay are higher than in our country.

But the picture is not completely rosy. Financial difficulties have halted many projects half-way. Primarily agricultural, Uruguay is now in process of returning from wheat to cattle-raising in order to increase exports and improve its finances. There is also pressure for broader industrial development, but investment capital is scarce. Uruguay is a fiercely independent and self-reliant nation, but it appeared to us that it could use temporary assistance to good advantage.

In Argentina, just emerging from the nightmare of the deposed Peron dictatorship, the situation is still quite confused. This was once the great power in South America. It still hopes to



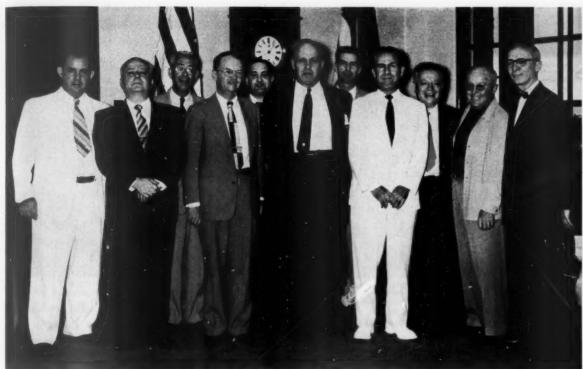
At a luncheon in Sao Paulo, Brazil, seekers of autographs were obliged by Mr. Meany.

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JANUA



In the Panama Canal Zone, the AFL-CIO group conferred with Governor William E. Potter (fourth from right). The meeting was held in Governor's Balboa Heights office. Also present were leaders of labor in Canal Zone.

regain its former stature. But twelve years of Peronism have sapped a good deal of Argentina's strength. Inflation is causing havoc. The free trade unions have made a strong comeback in Argentina in the last few months, but they are handicapped by factional internal differences and they face on all sides bitter external opposition from the followers of Peron and the Communists, who frequently join forces in election tests for collective bargaining rights.

The free trade union leaders of Argentina were greatly heartened by our visit, the first of an American labor delegation in ten years. They publicly expressed gratitude for the report on the evils of Peronism published by the AFL group that came to Argentina in 1947 and publicly challenged the dictator's attempts to conduct and confine their tour. That report, they said, was the first crushing blow to Peron's international prestige.

It must be remembered that the present leaders of free labor in Argentina were either compelled to go underground or were forced into exile during the Peron regime. They have been back on the job only a year and it will take time before they can consolidate the free trade union move-



David Dubinsky, speaking at Canal Zone's Balboa Theater, saw many bright possibilities for labor in Latin America.

ment and win the support of the great masses of Argentine workers. Meanwhile, they told us they had gained new standing and prestige from our visit, during which they were invited for the first time to the American Embassy and accompanied us to meetings with President Aramburu and Vice-President Rojas.

In Peru also the AFL-CIO found a newly re-



Using fast planes, the delegation traveled far and saw much in less than thirty days.

stored democracy—won not by revolution but by an election in which the trade union movement provided key support for the victory of President Manuel A. Prado.

Peru, like Brazil, is a land of contrasts—great wealth and extreme poverty existing virtually side by side. Furthermore, more than half the population is composed of Indians who live as they did in pre-Inca times in inaccessible mountain areas completely out of touch with modern civilization. They buy nothing, they sell nothing and therefore do not enter into the national economy at all.

Still, millions of Indians have come down to work in the farms, the mines and the cities. Agricultural labor rates run as low as five cents a week, above a ration of beans and corn and such shelter as the Indians themselves can erect out of scrap material.

Despite this drag on the national economy, Peru is trying hard to build, to modernize and to industrialize. The free trade union movement has rebounded quickly from eight years of suppression under the military dictatorship of General Odria. It is energetic, aggressive and growing rapidly in strength. Above all, it is eager to lift the standard of living of the workers of Peru and the people as a whole.

Our last stop, in Panama, was of too brief duration to get a clear picture of the confused local situation. However, we found a disturbing condition prevailing in and around the Panama Canal Zone. American workers employed in the Zone are paid rates prevailing in the U.S., plus a bonus for overseas service. Their employers are the U.S. government-owned corporation which operates the canal and the army. Panamanian workers are paid far less, yet they are much better off than the average worker in the Republic of Panama.

Under the U.S.-Panama treaty, a single wage rate is to be paid to both Panamanians and U.S. citizen workers. To prevent downgrading, the next Congress will be asked to adopt protective legislation. Governor Potter told us this would cause a \$13,000,000 annual deficit in the canal operation. Yet he conceded that tonnage rates for the use of the canal have not been raised since it was opened more than forty years ago.

The AFL-CIO delegation felt it would be presumptuous to offer any off-hand solution for the complicated problems that exist in Panama, but obviously a way out must be found soon. We need only take a look at what is happening in the Suez Canal area to realize the imperative necessity of improving and stabilizing conditions in Panama.

In the short space of twenty days the AFL-CIO delegates saw a great deal and learned a great deal in South America. One thing we learned is that there is no pat answer to the problems of so many different countries with such varying needs.

Our mission was highly successful in engendering good will. The affectionate reception given personally to Serafino Romualdi wherever we visited demonstrated the value of the work he has been doing for the AFL-CIO among the trade union movements below the border. Another widely appreciated service, we found, is the Noticiario Obrero Norteamericano, the Spanish language clipsheet distributed by the AFL-CIO to Latin American labor leaders and publications. The work of ORIT, regional organization of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, also has borne fruit wherever funds were made available.

If we can follow this good beginning by bringing about action programs that will be of greater assistance to our good neighbors in South America, the good will that exists can be enhanced and the entire free world will benefit. was the A from to the better vital

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The gratitude of Tunisia for the support of U.S. labor was voiced by Prime Minister Habib Bourguiba (center, front row) at an AFL-CIO dinner in his honor. With him in the front row are President George Meany (left) and Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler. In the rear row (left to right) are AFL-CIO Vice-Presidents Joseph D. Keenan, James B. Carey, Joseph A. Beirne and George M. Harrison.

# Tunisian Leader Is AFL-CIO's Guest

Prime Minister Bourguiba Thanks Labor Movement for Backing His Country's Independence Struggle

PRIME MINISTER HABIB BOURGUIBA of Tunisia was the guest of honor at a Washington dinner given by the AFL-CIO a few hours after President Meany's return from South America. The Tunisian leader paid tribute to the free U.S. labor movement for its achievements in bettering the lives of the American people and for its vital role in helping Tunisia to achieve independence.

Mr. Bourguiba, speaking in French, expressed the "deepest appreciation" of the Tunisians for the sincere friendship and steadfast support manifested by American labor through the years when his country was striving to gain independence and since the winning of this victory. He recalled that the AFL-CIO had instantly rejected spurious charges of "communism" leveled against the freedom-seeking Tunisians by those who wanted Tunisia to remain a colony.

The Prime Minister condemned communism, fascism and "fanaticism." His people want genuine liberty and human dignity, he said. They have no use for communism, which is "dictatorship of bureaucrats over the proletariat," he emphasized. Mr. Bourguiba said Tunisia and its people believe in democracy and seek to go forward "in freedom."

The AFL-CIO was praised for its democratic philosophy and its great practical achievements.

"The work of American labor," said the Prime

Minister, "gives us an image of what free labor can accomplish in a free country."

President Meany in his welcoming remarks assured Mr. Bourguiba that the AFL-CIO will continue to support the cause of freedom to the very best of its ability. In what was understood to be a reference to the Kremlin's brutal deeds against the Hungarian people, he noted that people generally, in "these days of great tension," seem to be accepting the validity of "a conclusion we of labor reached many years ago—that the fate of humanity cannot be entrusted to a dictatorial or tyrannical regime of any kind."

The united U.S. labor movement will keep fighting for "the freedom of all states," Mr. Meany pledged.

Present to honor the visiting Prime Minister and cement the ties of friendship between U.S. labor and newly independent Tunisia were AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler and Vice-Presidents George M. Harrison, James B. Carey, Joseph D. Keenan and Joseph A. Beirne. Accompanying Mr. Bourguiba were Mongi Slim, Tunisia's ambassador to Washington, and Khemaris Hageri, general secretary of the Tunisian Foreign Office. George T. Brown, director of the AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs, and Jay Lovestone, executive secretary of the Free Trade Union Committee of the AFL-CIO, were also present.

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# The Co-Existence Myth

# An Editorial by GEORGE MEANY

OR MANY MONTHS the leaders of the Kremlin have been talking to the free world about "peaceful co-existence." It became an effective propaganda slogan, designed to convince non-Communist nations that Soviet Russia's intentions were peaceful rather than aggressive.

The propaganda worked, especially in Europe and Asia. Even some people on this side of the Atlantic began to parrot the co-existence theme. The notion that the Communist conspiracy would be willing to live and let live, that it would be content to co-exist in peace with neighbors who were free, made a powerful impression upon wishful thinkers in this country.

Then came the Hungarian rebellion. Students and workers in Hungary began to talk openly about freedom—about a multi-party political system, about free elections, freedom of speech, freedom of religion. Attempts to suppress such talk led to an unexpected uprising, which resulted in a quick victory over the Russian troops stationed in Hungary. A new and independent government was established in Hungary.

Here was the first crucial test of peaceful coexistence. Did Soviet Russia permit the new and independent government of Hungary to exist?

We all know the tragic answer.

The Kremlin rushed hundreds of thousands of troops, 2,000 tanks and fleets of planes to Hungary and attacked the virtually defenseless Hungarian people with a avagery unmatched in modern history. The independent Nagy government was overthrown, a new puppet regime was installed and terror was unleashed over the land.

Why did this happen? An official statement in *Pravda* explained that Soviet Russia had to crush the Hungarian rebellion or Hungary would have been permanenty lost to communism. Is it conceivable that this loss of a tiny satellite would be considered so insupportable by the Kremlin that it had to let loose its full military might to prevent it?

No, Soviet Russia did not fear the loss of Hungary. It did not fear the danger of an attack against its own territory by an independent Hungary.

The real fear of the leaders of the Kremlin was freedom. They feared freedom at their door. They feared co-existence with freedom. They know that there are more anti-Communists inside Russia than anywhere else in the world. They feared that freedom in Hungary would give some of the Russian people ideas—that the Russian people might want relief from oppression; that they might want to elect their own leaders; that they might even want to set up a system of dispensing justice inimical to the health and welfare of Khrushchev and his friends.

There are two lessons that the entire free world should learn from these events.

The first is that in dealing with the Soviets there is only one sin—the sin of weakness.

The second is that those who created the propaganda slogan of "peaceful co-existence" have now proved they consider it a one-way street.

Hungary has exposed the naked fear of the Communists, their fear of freedom. The continuing resistance of the Hungarian people against oppression, despite the overpowering and pitiless brutality of Soviet Russia, has inspired the whole free world.

We in the American trade union movement cannot let their deperate appeals for help go unheeded. Every member of the AFL-CIO should respond generously to the Red Cross emergency relief fund. Every affiliated union should make a substantial contribution to the AFL-CIO International Free Labor Fund.

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# Murray-Green Award Goes to Senator Lehman

THE AFL-CIO's first Philip Murray-William Green Award was presented last month to Senator Herbert H. Lehman of New York in recognition of his thirty years of liberal public service.

The 78-year-old solon, who is retiring from the Senate in a few days, was given a plaque and a \$5000 check at a banquet in Manhattan's Hotel Commodore. The presentation was made by AFL-CIO Vice-President Joseph Beirne, chairman of the Community Services Committee.

AFL-CIO President George Meany hailed Mr. Lehman's record as Governor of New York, as director of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency and as a member of the Senate. Mr. Meany said that more legislation benefiting the working people of New York was enacted at Albany during Governor Lehman's time than in any other period in history.

"The American labor movement is proud to call Senator Lehman its friend," Mr. Meany declared. "We feel honored that he has so consistently championed our cause. For Senator Lehman is one of those rare figures in public life to whom right and justice always have come first and political considerations last.

"It is no exaggeration to state that he served as a tower of strength to the forces of liberalism in the Senate. Aside from carrying on the regular duties of a Senator, Herbert Lehman found time to sponsor and fight for every decent, progressive cause that needed a champion, no matter how hopeless it might appear."

Senator Lehman told the gathering that never in his life has he been more troubled by the state of America and the world. While the Administration avers that "all will be well," there is growing danger of another world war,



Senator Lehman was honored for thirty years of public service.

the humanitarian Senator warned.

Mr. Lehman commented on the fight over civil rights, the growing concentration of economic power, the plight of our aged people and the inequities of the present U.S. immigration law. He called on the organized labor movement to lead the American people out of perilous complacency.

# McDonald Honored at Chicago Dinner

PRESIDENT David J. McDonald of the United Steelworkers of America received high praise for his labor achievements, his character and his many contributions to community betterment at a testimonial dinner held at the Conrad Hilton Hotel in Chicago last month. The name of the Steelworkers' head, who is also an AFL-CIO vice-president, has become synonymous with industrial democracy, speakers at the dinner said.

One thousand officers of international, national and local unions, industry leaders and others purchased one or more \$1000 State of Israel 4 per cent development bonds for admission to the dinner, President William L. McFetridge of the Building Service Employes International Union, dinner chairman, reported.

Mr. McDonald and AFL-CIO President George Meany urged strong

support for Israel and for those Hungarians who are fighting for the independence of their country and for freedom. Mr. McDonald announced a program of the Steelworkers for sponsoring 1,000 Hungarian refugees.

Mr. Meany praised Israel as "the only democracy in the Middle East."

"We have a responsibility to work and fight for freedom wherever it is in danger," he said. "Especially in labor do we have a tremendous stake in freedom. To put it simply—no freedom, no labor movement."

The preservation of Israel should be the business of all Americans and all in the world who love liberty, the president of the AFL-CIO declared.

Mrs. Golda Meir, the former Milwaukee school teacher who is now Israel's foreign minister, also spoke. She said that "for many years we have looked upon the U.S. labor



David McDonald's leadership in labor and community was praised.

movement as our main source of sympathy and solidarity."

Israel, she indicated, was provoked into striking back at Egypt. The invasion, she said, was essential if Israel was to defend "its new peace and security" from Egyptian terrorists.

The people of Israel ask only the right to live "in security," she said.

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Two-day conference, sponsored by Industrial Union Department, was held in Washington's Hotel Statler.

# White-Collar Workers of U.S. Are Going To Be Organized

MILLIONS of American white-collar workers will join the family of organized labor in the years ahead. The efforts of the AFL-CIO to bring the benefits of unionism to office employes, retail clerks and other white-collar toilers will prove

successful because the united labor movement fully understands the obstacles involved and has the resources to overcome them. These statements were made in mid-December by leaders of American labor who addressed a two-day conference

George Meany spoke at parley luncheon.



Top officers of the Industrial Union Department in action on opening day. Walter P. Reuther (left) is IUD's president. Secretary is James Carey.





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AFL-CIO Secretary Schnitzler called task "No. 1 challenge."



John W. Livingston cited united labor's resources.



Howard Coughlin (left), president of the Office Employes, and IUD Director Albert Whitehouse.

in Washington. The meeting on whitecollar problems was sponsored by the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department.

At the closing session of the conference, AFL-CIO President George Meany emphasized that the pressing economic problems of white-collar workers can be solved only through effective unionism. In recent years these workers have fallen behind those who, toiling in thoroughly organized fields, enjoy the good pay and other benefits of collective bargaining.

"Everyone working for a substandard wage is a menace and a threat," Mr. Meany told the meeting. "This is especially true in the whitecollar field."

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AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler said:

"We are going to do the job. We are going to organize the unorganized white-collar workers of this country. And nothing—and nobody—is going to stop us. For this is the No. 1 challenge facing American labor today."

Mr. Schnitzler ridiculed employer propaganda that white-collar workers are "different" and "don't want unions." He termed such claims "nonsense" and "a myth."

"The white-collar worker, like any other worker, needs and wants and should have a better life for himself and his family," the AFL-CIO officer pointed out.

At the start of the conference, President Walter P. Reuther of the Industrial Union Department called for a new look in organizing techniques. He emphasized the place of public rela-

tions programs in connection with future organizing drives to foster general recognition of unions as an integral part of the community.

"I believe the white-collar worker can be organized," Mr. Reuther said, "and I believe the hour is late and the job better get done. The white-collar worker needs the union and the union needs the white-collar worker."

IUD President Reuther is the president of the United Auto Workers and a vice-president of the AFL-CIO.

Albert Whitehouse, director of the Industrial Union Department, said the purpose of the conference was to focus attention on the problems of the white-collar workers.

"Labor is at the service of the white-collar worker," he declared.

JOHN W. LIVINGSTON, the AFL-CIO's director of organization, echoed Mr. Schnitzler's pledge that the white-collar workers will be organized. He said:

"We may not make the spectacular advances in a short period of time such as marked the breakthrough into mass-production industry. But we are on the move."

Mr. Livingston, giving a rundown of the organizing problems, said:

"First of all, we have to take into account that elusive element—attitude. Failure to recognize that this is an obstacle means failure in the organizing task.

"One pitfall we must avoid. We must not fall into the trap of thinking of the white-collar worker as fundamentally different from other workers. To adopt such a point of view is to accept the white-collar myth.

"The differences between whitecollar workers and other workers are environmental differences. Otherwise there could be no explanation of why 17 per cent of the total white-collar force has come to share the union orientation of the industrial and craft workers."

Mr. Livingston noted that the united labor movement "has resources at its command far beyond anything heretofore at our disposal."

He added:

"The labor movement is at its highest in membership, in organizational resources, in organizational knowhow. From the vantage point of our current strength and experience, we are able to analyze the problem posed to us by the challenge of the white-collar field as no earlier labor movement could. We can anticipate the major hazards and plan to avoid them."

Stanley Ruttenberg, AFL-CIO research chief, told the conference that the largest single union in the country will emerge out of the millions of currently unorganized white-collar workers. This development will come in the next great wave of union organization, he declared.

Lois McKinstry of the Retail Clerks International Association said that to-day's hard economic facts are making white-collar workers more union-conscious. Miss McKinstry, a member of Local 770 in Los Angeles, contrasted the high pay and excellent conditions won by her local with the non-union retail clerks' meager wages, insecurity and rapidly diminishing dignity.

# THE VIRGINIA STORY

By HAROLD B. BOYD
President, Virginia State AFL-CIO

ESPITE many serious obstacles which have been placed in the path of organized labor by an unfriendly political machine, the Virginia State AFL-CIO faces the future with confidence.

Our organization was formed last June by the merger of the Virginia State Federation of Labor and the Virginia State Industrial Union Council. We have a total of 70,000 members and are looking hopefully to current organizing activity to increase our membership to 100,000 in the near future.

The road of organized labor in Virginia has not been easy. Organizing and union political activity have been made difficult by the anti-labor political machine of U.S. Senator Harry F. Byrd, which has dominated the government of the Old Dominion for a score of years.

Chief deterrent to the growth of unionism in Virginia has been the notorious "right to work" law. Laborhating employers have found that this misnamed law facilitates the obtaining of court injunctions against unions.

The Old Dominion was one of the first states to enact a "right to work" law. Former Governor William Tuck claims the dubious credit of being the "father" of this vicious statute.

There can be no question that the political climate needs improvement, and Virginia labor believes that it would be improved immeasurably if the poll tax were wiped out. Only four other states — Mississippi, Alabama, Texas and Arkansas—still have the poll tax.

Those who run Virginia are pleased that the poll tax has reduced the number of participants in elections. Authorities exert little effort to increase poll tax collections. Labor, believing in democracy, is encouraging trade unionists and the members of their families to pay the tax in order to exercise their precious right to vote.

Despite the unfriendly political atmosphere, organized labor in Virginia has succeeded in making signif-



HAROLD B. BOYD

icant gains since 1940. We are proud of these gains.

The Virginia State Federation of Labor was chartered in 1900. In 1940 it had less than 9,000 members and no full-time officers. Its finances were weak.

In 1956 the State Federation of Labor was able to bring 40,000 members into the merged organization. Both I, who was president, and Irving C. Welsted, secretary-treasurer, were working on a full-time basis for the organization.

Much credit for the development of the State Federation of Labor into a strong organization should be given to two former officers. They are J. S. Smith, whom I succeeded as president and who is now international representative of the Plasterers and Cement Masons, and Paul A. Askew, international representative of the Operating Engineers, who was first vice-president of the State Federation of Labor at the time of merger.

The other part of the merged organization, the State Industrial Union Council, was formed January 13, 1940, at a meeting held in Richmond. The Council received its charter ten days later. Representatives of eight national and international unions, four organizing committees, four local councils and eight local industrial unions participated in the founding meeting of the State Industrial Union Council.

When the AFL and CIO bodies merged in Virginia last June, the Industrial Union Council brought into the new Virginia State AFL-CIO almost 28,000 members. Julian F. Carper, its executive vice-president, was the one full-time officer. The Council was also ably headed by Lawrence H. Marine, president, and James H. Boyette, secretary-treasurer, international representatives, respectively, of the Steelworkers and the Auto Workers.

Both organizations set up unity committees in 1955 to prepare for the merger. I was on the State Federation committee along with Brothers Welsted and Askew, and G. P. Johnson, Sr., and Thomas E. Bowers. The IUC committee consisted of Brothers Marine, Carper and Boyette, plus Silas Switzer and Earl W. Davis.

The first meeting of the merger committees was held in November, 1955. After the AFL-CIO merger convention in New York City, the committees stepped up their work. The committees approved the merger agreement and proposed constitution on January 25, 1956. The executive boards of both organizations approved the documents on February 10

In addition to the present writer, the Virginia State AFL-CIO has two full-time executive officers. They are Vice-President Carper and Secretary-Treasurer Welsted. All are experienced trade unionists, having served the movement in various important positions. I am a member of the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada. Vice-President Carper belongs to the Textile Workers Union and Secretary-Treasurer

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Welsted is a member of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

We view the past accomplishments of Virginia labor with some satisfaction and hopefully shoulder our new responsibilities. Our state is being industrialized rapidly, and organized labor faces a challenge to bring the benefits of effective unionism to workers in a wide variety of industries.

Much organizing is already an accomplished fact. For example, Richmond is a leading cigarette-manufacturing center, and all cigarettes made there as well as in other parts of Virginia are union-made.

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AFL-CIO textile unions now have 23,000 members in the state. AFL-CIO unions also have organized most of the pulp and paper mills and clothing plants in the Old Dominion. The Street Railway Employes have succeeded in negotiating contracts with most of the urban transportation lines.

Efforts are being made to bring into the AFL-CIO fold some 8,000 workers at Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company, who have been "represented" by a company "union."

In addition to fighting for repeal of "right to work" and the poll tax, Virginia labor is seeking much-needed improvements in our unemployment compensation and workmen's compensation laws. At present unemployment benefits of \$8 to \$28 a week are paid for seven to eighteen weeks. The maximum duration is almost the lowest in the entire nation - only Florida is worse in this respect. Our unemployment insurance law has many disqualifying provisions, and it makes no allowance for dependents.

Payments under the Virginia workmen's compensation law compare unfavorably with those of many other states. Injured workers receive from \$6 to \$30 a week, with a \$12,000 ceiling on total payments.

Time was when the labor movement apparently enjoyed a better climate in the Old Dominion. Norfolk and Richmond were reputedly two of the best organized cities in the nation at the turn of the century. And in 1886 the old Knights of Labor chose Richmond for their tenth regular assembly, the meeting lasting sixteen days.

Virginia has a proud heritage of freedom. Every schoolboy knows that the colony furnished much of the leadership for American independence and the writing of the Constitution. Virginia was the birthplace of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and six other Presidents. And it was in Virginia, on March 23, 1775, that Patrick Henry closed a moving speech with the immortal plea to "give me liberty or give me death!"

Sad to say, many of today's officials and legislators seem to have forgotten the real meaning of liberty as the founding fathers understood it.

The Virginia State AFL-CIO is dedicated to giving present-day substance to the word "liberty" by improving the political climate of our state in order to bring the benefits of union organization to an ever-increasing number of working people.

# From Other Labor Publications

## **More Long Weekends**

From The Butcher Workman

The happiest workers in all of the world are those who, when a holiday falls on Friday or Monday, have the opportunity of enjoying a long, three-day weekend.

It would appear that industry as well as organized labor should petition Congress to enact legislation which would make it possible to give long weekends to the producers of our nation on every national legal holiday, with the exception of Christmas, New Year's Day and Independence Day. These holidays are so deeply imbedded in the minds and hearts of Christians and Americans that celebration of them on any other day would seemingly be out of the

England has already accomplished the long weekend for the toilers in the United Kingdom. Every legal holiday is celebrated on Monday. The result is that millions of workers with their families enjoy themselves by taking trips of reasonable distances and visiting their kinfolks and friends in villages just beyond, all of which creates a happier atmosphere as well as a more prosperous holiday period for the merchants.

The same thing could be accomplished here. There is no real reason that a holiday must be observed in the middle of the week. Observance of all legal holidays could be postponed until or moved forward to Mon-

The whole plan would not in any manner

interfere with production because Monday is usually the poorest business day of the week. In many cities department stores do not open until Monday afternoon.

Let's abolish "blue Monday" in holiday weeks by letting the workers stay home and enjoy themselves,

## Toward Merger

From The Insurance Worker

Negotiations with the "Big Three" insurance companies as well as bargaining sessions with the so-called smaller companies, rather than an unwillingness to meet, have been the real reason for a lack of progress in merger talks between the Insurance Workers of America and the Insurance Agents International Union.

There have been four attempts to hold merger committee meetings, and an additional session has now been tentatively scheduled. The sessions were postponed because of problems confronting the two unions at the bargaining tables. But the one-year period since AFL-CIO merger has not been wasted. The officers of the two unions have met. They have discussed legislative programs. There has been close cooperation between the Research Departments of the two unions, and a number of local and regional committees have held exploratory sessions.

The new year should be a year of real progress. It is possible that 1957 will be the year when insurance workers are finally united in "one big union."

# Age Is No Barrier

From The Electrical Workers' Journal

Among other objectives for which organized labor has crusaded through the years has been the right of older workers to be hired and to hold their jobs. Organized labor has always contended, in striving to maintain seniority, that experience and know-how are as important or more important to a job than the stamina and effervescence of youth.

More and more studies being made today bear out organized labor's theory. Without casting any reflection on today's youth, which is as competent, as intelligent and as willing as the youth of any decade that has gone before, many surveys of job performance prove that older workers are usually more stable and more reliable and accurate in their work.

A Department of Labor study made recently in the clothing and shoe industry showed that average output per man-hour remained stable through age 54 and that production in the 54-64 age group was at least 90 per cent as high as in any younger

In our industry, where experience is so vital, we have learned great respect for our older workers. We have many members eligible for pension who are still working and doing a good job. They remain in the industry because they are needed, to answer the tremendous need for electrical service which is increasing every day and also to train younger workers to carry on.



George Meany press conference following his return from South America was a feature of ILPA convention's first day.

# Labor Press Convention Most Successful in History

DRIVE to strengthen and advance the nation's trade union movement was launched last month by the International Labor Press Association at its first convention since the merger of AFL and CIO labor press organizations. It was the largest and most successful labor press convention in history. More than 200 delegates were in attendance at the three-day gathering in Washington's Mayflower Hotel.

The convention approved a program to improve the readability, appearance and content of labor magazines and newspapers so that they can provide an effective line of communication between unions and their members. The delegates, in another key action, called for intensified efforts to drive out of existence the unethical publications which feed on the fears of uninformed businessmen.

AFL-CIO President George Meany and Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler both appeared before the convention. Mr. Meany held a special press conference at the ILPA session soon after his return from South America. Mr. Schnitzler addressed the convention at some length the following day.

In answer to a question from Irwin

Klass, Chicago editor, Mr. Meany predicted that mergers in the states will be accomplished by the December 5, 1957, deadline. If it should become necessary, he added, the AFL-CIO will step in and complete the job.

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Newspaper Guild President Joseph F. Collis had a chat with Mr. Meany.

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The merger of U.S. labor is working out very well, declared AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler. Those who don't measure up to labor's high ethical standards must be eliminated, he told the delegates.





The highly successful convention was led by Gordon Cole (left), ILPA's president, and Bernard Mullady, secretary.



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The labor editors were greeted by Philip Pearl, AFL-CIO publicity head.

Secretary-Treasurer Bernard R. Mullady reported on the ILPA's constant fight to wipe out the racket sheets. They emphasized the need for more effective educational publicity among the nation's businessmen.

Mr. Cole focused attention in his keynote speech on the communications role of the labor press. Too many unions, he asserted, are operating on the basis of twenty years ago and are "taking no account of the improved methods of communications being used by labor's enemies."

Joseph F. Collis, president of the American Newspaper Guild, urged greater support of the labor press by trade unions. Top professional pay scales for the editors of labor's magazines and newspapers should be put into effect by the unions, Mr. Collis said.

Edward P. Morgan and John W. Vandercook, radio commentators, addressed a convention luncheon. William T. Evjue, editor of the Capital Times of Madison, Wisconsin, spoke at the annual awards banquet. The delegates also heard short talks by Henry C. Fleisher, director of the AFL-CIO Department of Publications, and Arnold Beichman, representative of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Thirty-eight awards for excellence were presented at the convention.

Mr. Meany hailed the progress made in the first year of national labor unity. The internal problems of the merged organization, he said, are no greater today than they were previously in the AFL or CIO. He emphasized the many solid achievements which have been recorded since the merger convention in 1955.

Secretary Schnitzler threw his full support behind the drive to eliminate unethical publications. He said that "those who cannot measure up" must be removed from the labor movement.

"It is better to be somewhat smaller and clean," Mr. Schnitzler declared. ILPA President Gordon Cole and



Active figures were Railway Clerks' John McCarthy (left) and Art Riordan of IUE (Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers).

## **More Protection for You**

(Continued from Page 11)

make a number of other changes affecting those already under the program.

First, if you are a self-employed farmer, there is a new optional method of figuring your income for social security purposes. Taking advantage of this method may improve the earnings record on which any future benefits will be computed. For social security purposes you are considered a self-employed farmer even if you farm land owned by someone else, on a share basis.

If you have land which is farmed by someone else and you participate in the management of the farm or the production of the crop, your income from the land can be counted as earnings under social security for all the taxable years after 1955.

The one area in which the 1956 amendments prove a disappointment is in the protection afforded farm wage workers. In some respects this protection is improved, but on the whole it is our opinion that it is not as good as it was before the amendments.

Before the amendments you got social security credit if you, as an employe of a farmer, received \$100 or more in cash wages during a calendar year. Beginning in 1957, you will receive social security credit for earnings only if you receive as much as \$150 from an individual farm employer or if you work for a farm employer for as much as twenty days during a year at wages other than at piece rates. For the \$150-a-year test, piece rate, hourly rate or daily rate pay count. The total number of days worked does not matter so long as you earned as much as \$150 in cash working for one employer during the year.

For the twenty-day test the total amount of the cash pay does not matter so long as you work for one employer at least twenty days during one year, for cash pay based on some unit of time such as an hour or a day.

It is members of labor crews such as those frequently used to harvest fruits and vegetables who are most likely to lose their social security protection under the provisions of the new amendments. This is partly because of the increase in the earnings requirement to \$150.

Moreover, a crew leader is now considered the employer unless he has entered into a written agreement with the farm operator employer that he is the latter's employe.

Many crew leaders lack the ability to keep the required records, even if they were disposed to do so. Migratory and other seasonal farm workers will have the responsibility of determining, for their own protection, whether it is the farm operator or the crew leader who is the actual employer. These farm workers will also do well to keep their own records of earnings.

Where the crew leader is the employer, the farm operator should be required to list all crew leaders who serve as employers. He has a moral obligation to see that all the workers

he employs who meet the employment tests described above have the social security tax paid on their wages and credited to them, even though the law does not require him to do so.

#### **Newly Covered Groups**

Lawyers, dentists, osteopaths, veterinarians, chiropractors, naturopaths and optometrists (but not physicians) are brought under the protection of the social security system, and their earnings in all taxable years after 1955 will count toward old-age, survivors' and disability insurance benefits.

Of special interest to large numbers of wage-earners is the fact that members of the uniformed services are now covered by the Social Security Law. If you are a member of one of these services, your basic pay will count toward old-age, survivors' and disability insurance benefits, and you will pay social security tax on the first \$4200 of such earnings each year. Such benefits can be paid in addition to your regular military retirement pay.

Social security benefits based on service between September 15, 1940, and January 1, 1957, are computed on a flat \$160 per month wage credit for the period of active duty. You paid no social security tax on this amount and you are not eligible for benefits based on these wage credits if you are eligible for monthly benefits from another federal agency, based in whole or in part on the same period of military service. (Payments from Veterans Administration will not affect payment of military service wage credits toward social security.)

## TABLE III

Examples of Monthly Benefits for Widow Having No Children Under 18 and Dependent Mother of Worker Who Dies

Worker's Average Monthly Earnings*	Amount Payable at 62nd Birthday or Later
\$50	\$30.00
100	41.30
150	51.40
200	58.90
250	66.40
300	73.90
350	81.40

\* See Table I footnote.

# TABLE IV

Monthly Benefits Payable to Men and Women Workers Retired at 65 or Later or, If Disabled, at 50 or Later

Average Monthly Earnings After 1950*	Monthly Benefit		
\$50	\$30.00		
100	55.00		
150	68.50		
200	78.50		
250	88.50		
300	98.50		
350	108.50		

\* See Table I footnote.

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### TABLE V

#### Examples of Benefits Payable to Survivors of a Worker Who Dies

Insured Worker's Average Monthly Earnings*	Amount Payable Each Month			
	Widow, Widower, Child or Parent	Widow and One Child	Widow and Two Children	Single Lump-Sum Death Payment
\$50	\$30.00	\$45.00	\$50.20	\$90.00
100	41.30	82.60	82.60	165.00
150	51.40	102.80	120.00	205.50
200	58.90	117.80	157.10	235.50
250	66.40	132.80	177.20	255.00
300	73.90	147.80	197.10	255.00
350	81.40	162.80	200.00	255.00

<sup>\*</sup> See Table I footnote.

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Any liberalization of social secuple have time and again over the past twenty-one years demonstrated that they are fully aware of that fact, and have demonstrated they are willing to pay their fair share of the cost of improving the program.

The improvements in public assistance, such as more liberal payments to the needy aged, for child welfare, and for medical care to those who are in need will be met by appropriations out of the general revenues of the federal government and out of state taxes.

The provisions making possible benefit payments to women at age 62

actually cost very little, for with the exception of widows most others accept a reduced benefit, so that the total amount of the benefits paid those who claim them at the earlier age is no more than the total they would have been paid in the absence of such a provision.

To raise the funds necessary to pay benefits to the disabled under the program, both employers and employes will pay an additional ½ per cent social security tax on all wages up to \$4200 per year. The self-employed, including farmers, will pay at one and one-half times this additional rate just as they now pay one and one-half times the rate applicable to the em-

ploye's social security tax. There is no employer tax paid on behalf of the self-employed, though they are paid the full amount of any benefit for which they are eligible.

There are many other improvements needed to bring our social security system to the place where it fully meets the security needs of the working people. The AFL-CIO is planning to call on the new Congress to meet some of the most urgent of these without delay.

Though much remains to be done, the amendments of 1956 mark an important milestone on the road to economic security for the American worker and his family.

## This Is How We Licked 198

(Continued from Page 7)

ganization supported the measure. Responsible groups by the score condemned the initiative.

Outside of advertising, daily newspapers and radio and television stations carried little or no publicity on the issue submitted by unions. This left the burden of news coverage to the labor press, which responded magnificently to the challenge.

Labor papers conducted an effective and steady campaign of education. Instead of hysterical tirades against "right to work," labor's publications approached the problem factually, presenting logical arguments why Initiative 198 must be defeated for the welfare of everyone.

To assist speakers, a kit of visual aid posters was prepared. These posters presented in cartoon style the main arguments against 198, and enabled a speaker to portray graphically the evils of the subject.

The Right to Work Committee let loose a flood of advertising in the days just prior to the final election. It attempted to create the illusion that Initiative 198 was not directed at hampering unions but was designed to bring freedom to union members.

These charges did not cause any modification in our campaign tactics against 198. The major groups opposing the initiative kept to their positive program of exposing the evils of the "wreck" measure, ignoring a charge and counter-charge situation.

During the final stages of the campaign we unfolded an unusual plan. Simultaneously, buses appeared in all major cities. These buses carried huge banners against Initiative 198 and were filled with women volunteers armed with literature. The buses toured the cities, stopping at intervals to permit the women to distribute their literature.

Just prior to Election Day, rallies were held which were directed toward getting out a huge vote against 198. One, sponsored by the Teamsters, was televised in the Seattle area. Another, sponsored by the Machinists, originated in Seattle and was televised and broadcast statewide.

Equal time was given to the two candidates for Governor and the two candidates for United States Senator. They all talked against 198. The climax was an address delivered by Al J. Hayes, president of the Machinists and an AFL-CIO vice-president.

Election Day saw the result of the campaign. Initiative 198 was defeated by a 3 to 1 vote. The "right to work" poison had been rejected in Washington in a most decisive manner.

## **Atomic Hazards for Workers**

(Continued from Page 3)

until twenty-five or thirty years after exposure. Even more troublesome, the ill effects of radiation may never become apparent or measurable, although they are nonetheless real. Overexposure may produce, not identifiable radiation disease, but rather increased susceptibility to certain diseases, most notably leukemia and other cancers.

Excessive radiation can mean weakened resistance which brings on death earlier than usual. The worker who absorbs a good deal of radiation may have no evident injury and ultimately may die from the very same causes as other persons—but sooner.

Beyond this is the fact that some types of radiation threaten genetic damage, threaten not merely the worker himself but his children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Radiation may affect the reproductive cells and mean sterility. Or, if an affected worker can have children and grandchildren, some might be malformed or retarded.

The peculiar characteristics of radiation raise problems not contemplated by existing workmen's compensation laws. The laws need change to assure that protection intended by workmen's compensation principles is in fact provided to those endangered by radiation hazards. While I do not anticipate a sudden rush of radiation compensation cases, it is clear that, even with a crackerjack education job and scrupulous observance of all precautions, there inevitably will be at least occasional instances of negligence or accident.

It would be ironic if workers dealing with radioactive materials—workers who are in the most forward-looking and advanced industries—were deprived of adequate compensation protection because of backward-looking or unintentional gaps in the legislation.

It is now some thirty years since the first eruption of the famed radium poisoning of the young women who painted luminous dials on watches. Various states took account of the radium hazard after its reality was demonstrated so tragically by these unwitting victims. A similar threat of major tragedy is ripe again. This

time we have ample forewarning and a plentiful backlog of experience. Will the laws be adjusted quickly to meet the newer problems of radiation? Or must we wait for tragedy to set the spark for revision?

At least two obvious steps certainly seem in order immediately. It should be made certain that radiation injury is covered and that statutes of limitations are adjusted to take account of the delayed nature of many radiation effects.

There are still some states which have schedule rather than full coverage of occupational disease and which do not include radiation disease in their coverage schedules. Other states with schedules do cover it—but often with possibly ambiguous or limiting language which technically may exclude some radiation injuries. A number of experts in this field have suggested that certain simple language would clearly cover all radiation injuries. Their suggested coverage phrase is "disease caused by ionizing radiation."

On the statute of limitations matter, most laws are wholly inadequate because they do not allow for delayed disability. Already in at least one case, in South Carolina, a worker who claimed radiation injury, and received a compensation ruling that such injury had occurred, had his claim dismissed because of the statute of limitations.

A couple of states have now acted to meet this problem by providing simply that the time limitation will begin to run, not from the date of exposure, but from the date the worker first has knowledge of his disability and its nature.

On the more complex radiation problems noteworthy suggestions have been made by different experts. One suggestion arises out of the difficulties of measuring radiation effects or of linking a specific injury to a specific exposure. It may be desirable for this purpose to adopt a presumption provision on the causal relation between radiation disability and employment. Such a provision would state that, if a worker is employed where radioactive substances are used, it shall be presumed—in the absence of substantial evidence to the

contrary—that disability or death found attributable to the effects of radiation arose out of and in the course of his employment.

A second suggestion considers another aspect of the measurement problem and the delayed manifestation of injury. How do you apportion employer liability where the disabled worker may have been exposed in a number of different plants? It may be unfair to charge compensation against only the last employer and administratively impractical to divide responsibility among earlier employers. Here it may be equitable to apply the second-injury-fund approach to reduce the cost assessed against the last employer.

THE third suggestion is much broader and is quite intriguing. Would it not be equitable to take into account the fact that radiation may harm a worker even though there is no immediate observable effect? Compensation might be provided at the time of overexposure in recognition of the premature aging, shortened life, delayed injury or genetic damage which may be suffered as after-effects.

Why not a uniform federal system to provide compensation for different dosages of radiation suffered in employment, regardless of whether or not any ill effects are immediately apparent?

These and other problems and approaches require careful study. Several states have already initiated studies of needed legislative changes. The U.S. Department of Labor has also begun exploration of these problems in cooperation with other government agencies.

But the wheels are turning slowly. No comprehensive examination has yet been made of the actual compensation treatment of the known or alleged cases of radiation injury. Surely such a study should be undertaken by competent authorities.

The trade unions offer their utmost cooperation in getting necessary studies and discussions under way. Early decision and positive action must be achieved. Let us follow through to gain adequate protection as soon as possible for all workers confronted with atomic hazards.

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Local 901, International Union of Electrical Workers, raised \$3100 in Fort Wayne, Ind., at a benefit dance to pay the doctor and hospital bills of five-year-old Claudia Lower, severely burned in a fire more than a year ago. The local union also bought a complete new wardrobe and a bedroom suite for the child. Several hundred dollars which remained were turned over to the Fort Wayne Crippled Children's Aid Society.

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Judy Holt Howe of the U.S. women's gymnastic team which participated in the Olympic Games at Melbourne, Australia, was coached by Bud Marquette, a member of Local 1360 of the Steelworkers. He works at Ambridge, Pa. He flew to Melbourne to give Judy last-minute coaching.

Lodge 735 of the Machinists canceled its annual Christmas party at Nashville, Tenn., and gave \$500 to Luther G. Young, 30, of Madison, Tenn. A father of five, he has been hospitalized with a serious heart ailment. Lodge 1411, Murfreesboro, sent Young \$84.

The Wisconsin Industrial Union Council plans to ask the Legislature for a law which would require the soil and air to be checked for radioactive fallout dust. Low calcium sections of the nation, Council President Charles M. Schultz said, are more susceptible to radiation than most other places.

The Railway Clerks have reached an agreement with the Railway Express Agency providing wage boosts of 24 cents an hour over three years for 35,000 members.

The International Union of Electrical Workers has won recognition at the Micri Manufacturing Company, New York City, as the collective bargaining agent for the employes.

Members of Painters' Local 675, Detroit, donated their services to paint the interior and exterior of the Penrickton Nursery for Visually Handicapped Children in Taylor Township. Increased wages and other gains have been won by Directly Affiliated Local 19499, Milwaukee, at the Tubular Division of Babcock and Wilcox. The union has obtained better provisions in regard to differentials and "call-in" pay, holidays, vacations and jury service.

A 13-cent package has been won at Oldbury Electro Chemical Company by Local 8-632 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, Columbus, Miss. The new two-year agreement increases insurance benefits and shift premiums.

The Upholsterers International Union has opened its long-planned community at Juniper, Fla. Convalescent care and low-cost homes for members are provided. More than 500 attended the ceremonies.

Fifteen employes of the Longchamps Restaurants in New York have received almost \$12,000 in first benefit checks under a pension agreement negotiated by the Hotel and Restaurant Employes.

Wage hikes of 18 cents an hour over two years have been won by Chicago Local 415, Pulp and Sulphite Workers, in contracts with the Atlantic Box Company and the Rathbone, Hair and Ridgway Box Company.

Local 639, Teamsters, Washington, D. C., has negotiated wage increases totaling 45 cents an hour in a threeyear agreement with Safeway Stores.

Local 1, St. Louis, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has won a wage increase of 24 cents hourly in a new contract with the Emerson Electric Manufacturing Company. The pact also provides double time for work in excess of twelve hours a day.

Local 118 of the Teamsters and Local 300 of the Brewery Workers have concluded a joint organizing campaign among the employes of the Qualtop Beverage Company, Rochester, N. Y., by gaining wage increases as high as 30 per cent at the firm's eight plants in New York State.

Shortly after defeating the unaffiliated United Construction Workers in a State Labor Board election at Hammond, Ind., Lincoln Lodge 209 of the Machinists won a wage increase of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  cents an hour for employes of the Youngstown Steel Door Company.

American Newspaper Guild memers employed by the Associated Press, United Press and International News Service have voted in favor of a separate national wire service local.

A seafood and hushpuppy dinner highlighted the third annual picnic of Local 9-656, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, in Tampa, Fla.

A contract renewal with the Atlanta Transit System has gained Division 732 of the Street Railway Employes higher wages and improved vacations.



## **Regional Director Heath Dies**

JOSEPH F. HEATH (photo at left), director of AFL-CIO Region IV, with headquarters in Balti-more, died in a hospital at Arlington, Virginia, on

more, died in a hospital at Arlington, Virginia, on December 5. He had been seriously injured in October in an automobile accident near Winchester. His companion, AFL-CIO Representative Norman H. Greenblatt, was killed.

Mr. Heath, who was born in Philadelphia on Christmas Day, 1907, was a veteran of many years in the labor movement. From 1949 to 1953 he was in Europe, handling labor matters under the European recovery program. He then joined the AFL's national organizing staff. He is survived by his widow and six children.

# WHAT THEY SAY

Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., Senator from Missouri—I regard the failure



of the Eightyfourth Congress to pass a school construction bill as a national disaster. It takes a long time to plan and build schools, and the consequences of the

defeat of the school aid bill will be felt for many years. I deeply believe that we have a paramount obligation to develop a nation of informed and enlightened citizens. America's children are our most precious resource. We must not fail them again.

In the last Congress the school bill was defeated because political jockeying took precedence over the imperative need for federal financial aid for school construction. Effective Administration leadership was totally absent at the most critical time. Although President Eisenhower had talked repeatedly about the need for prompt action in this field, the Administration failed to lend its full support to the bill when the issue was before the House.

William L. McFetridge, president, Building Service Employes Interna-



tional Union—
When we talk about organizing the unorganized, it is easy to forget that even a march across a continent must begin with but a single step. No

small part of a successful organizing drive comes from union members who think, talk and explain trade unionism to others. Just think back to the days when the labor movement got its start. Every possible influence was lined up against the right of workers to organize. All the fledgling labor movement had was a membership that lived unionism, that talked it up and made converts by the sheer force of enthusiasm.

So tell others of the things your

union has done and can do. When you talk about the headlines with your neighbors, tell them of your union's stand on the issues of the day. When your wife has her card-playing friends at the house, tell them about your union's fight for better wages and working conditions. When you are with your cronies at a club or pub, tell them about the many different things your union has done to improve conditions in your industry.

Adlai E. Stevenson—The last few years have been a time of crisis for



the Bill of Rights. Grievous assaults on the rights and liberties of individuals have defaced the image of America as the land of the free. We must resolve now to renew

that image, to repair the structure of the Bill of Rights and to restore the foundation of freedom under law. Our success will depend on the determination with which we insist on a return to our traditional principles of freedom. The issue which is perhaps causing the greatest concern today is that of civil rights. The achievement of full rights for minorities is the great unfinished business before the United States.

The Supreme Court decisions on school integration have created problems of adjustment and social change in which the President is surely bound to use his moral as well as legal authority to create an atmosphere in which the law of the land can be carried out in tranquility and order.

In addition, there is a pressing need to assure the right to vote to all American citizens. If the laws on the statute books giving the federal government authority to protect these rights are enforced, and strengthened where necessary, our national freedom will rest on a more solid and enduring foundation.

The protection of minority rights is in the forefront of our minds. But it is only a part of the larger problem of protecting the Bill of Rights.

L. S. Buckmaster, president, United Rubber Workers — In the very be-



ginning, our job was to organize the unorganized. That job has never been completed. Today less than one-third of the people who should be in unions are organ-

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ized in the country as a whole. It seems to me that organizing the unorganized must continue to be a basic objective of unions. Another one, I believe, should be education of the workers. Now, some of our people are a little allergic to that word "education," but if that is too unpalatable, we can give it a different name without much trouble.

We must all learn more about our government and our unions and our duties as American citizens. I don't think there is anything more important than that. What good does it do to organize a lot of people if they have no understanding of why they are in the union, what they are supposed to do after they get into the union and what they are supposed to do as American citizens?

David J. McDonald, president, United Steel Workers—I view the rise



of so-called White Citizens' Councils and the attitude expressed by some people in our country as the most serious challenge to American democracy in the past

100 years. I feel that such organizations as the National Association of Manufacturers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce should speak out on this subject and help provide ways to eliminate this threat to our American way of life. This is a clear obligation of American industry and its national organizations.

When we of organized labor berate the activities of communism both here and abroad, we do something about it. Now let these associations of businessmen do something about the resistance to American democracy in the South. Let them help in the job of restoring America to a position of outstanding leadership in the minds of the people of all the world.

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